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148

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Hon. Sec.: Mrs. G. Fontaine,
Heron Garth,
Malton Gate,
Thornton-le-Dale.
(tel. Thornton Dale 703)

Finds Recorder: D. Smith Esq.,
c/o Ryedale Folk Museum,
Hutton le Hole, York.

Hon. Treas.: Alan McDonald Esq.,
3 Woodard House,
Helmsley, York.
(tel. Helmsley 70636)

Hon. Editor: J. McDonnell Esq.,
11 St. Oswald's Close,
Oswaldkirk, York.

First, an apology for yet another change in the format of the Historian. We had hoped to continue in the size adopted for the last two issues, but for technical reasons it is uneconomic. So, since the only alternative was to go back to the original size of numbers 1-8 - too small for effective reproduction of plans and diagrams - we have preferred to enlarge to the present A4 size. Readers' comments would be welcome.

Of our contributors, Bryan Waites is an old and valued ally of the Editor's, since the days of the History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District, when he gave valuable help on the section dealing with Rievaulx Abbey, left in draft by Mr. Wilfrid Crosland at his death. Mr. Waites lives and lectures in the Midlands, but is an expert on the medieval period in north-east Yorkshire.

Fr. Alban Rimmer, contributor of a review on an opusculum by your Editor, was until his recent retirement, parish priest of St. Chad's, Kirkbymoorside, and, perhaps more important in the context, a keen fisherman (unlike the author of the work reviewed).

Our cover map is taken from the first edition Ordnance Survey series (six inches to the mile), which appeared at almost the precise moment when Tom Parker was writing his account of Kirby Moorside. Ordnance Survey maps are Crown Copyright, and it is reproduced here by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

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ERRATUM

Mr. R.I. Hodgson, author of 'Medieval Colonisation in Northern Ryedale' in Ryedale Historian No. 10, asks that readers' attention be drawn to an error in the Figure on p.54 (bottom left). Wombleton is shown as a 'planned village with a green', but the symbol should not have the black centre. He hopes that nobody has been fruitlessly seeking a green in the meantime!

MEDIEVAL FAIRS AND MARKETS IN NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE by Brian Waites

The medieval fair 'was an institution of political, religious, legal, judicial and above all, commercial importance.'¹ It was the scene of intense business activity on both a local and international scale. It was here that the farmer came to buy and sell his corn and cattle; it was here that the Italian merchants came to negotiate for the wool they were to buy. Buyers and sellers gathered in a place and at a time ordained by charter or statute or by ancient custom. Usually a fair would be a great spectacle organised on a large scale once or twice a year on an important religious festival. A market, on the other hand, was usually smaller and held more frequently, once or twice a week, for the purchase and sale of provisions or livestock, publicly. A market might serve a more restricted area though in certain specialised goods it could have a wider influence. In most settlements, especially large towns, there were different markets during the week concentrating on sheep, cattle, dairy products, etc. Frequently, in medieval times, places having a market or markets were also the locations of fairs, often as in the instance of Scarborough, of very long duration. They were national, even international events.

The North East was fortunate to have a large number of fairs and markets within it in the 13th and 14th centuries, as Fig.1 shows². Fairs were granted to Whitby Abbey and Bridlington

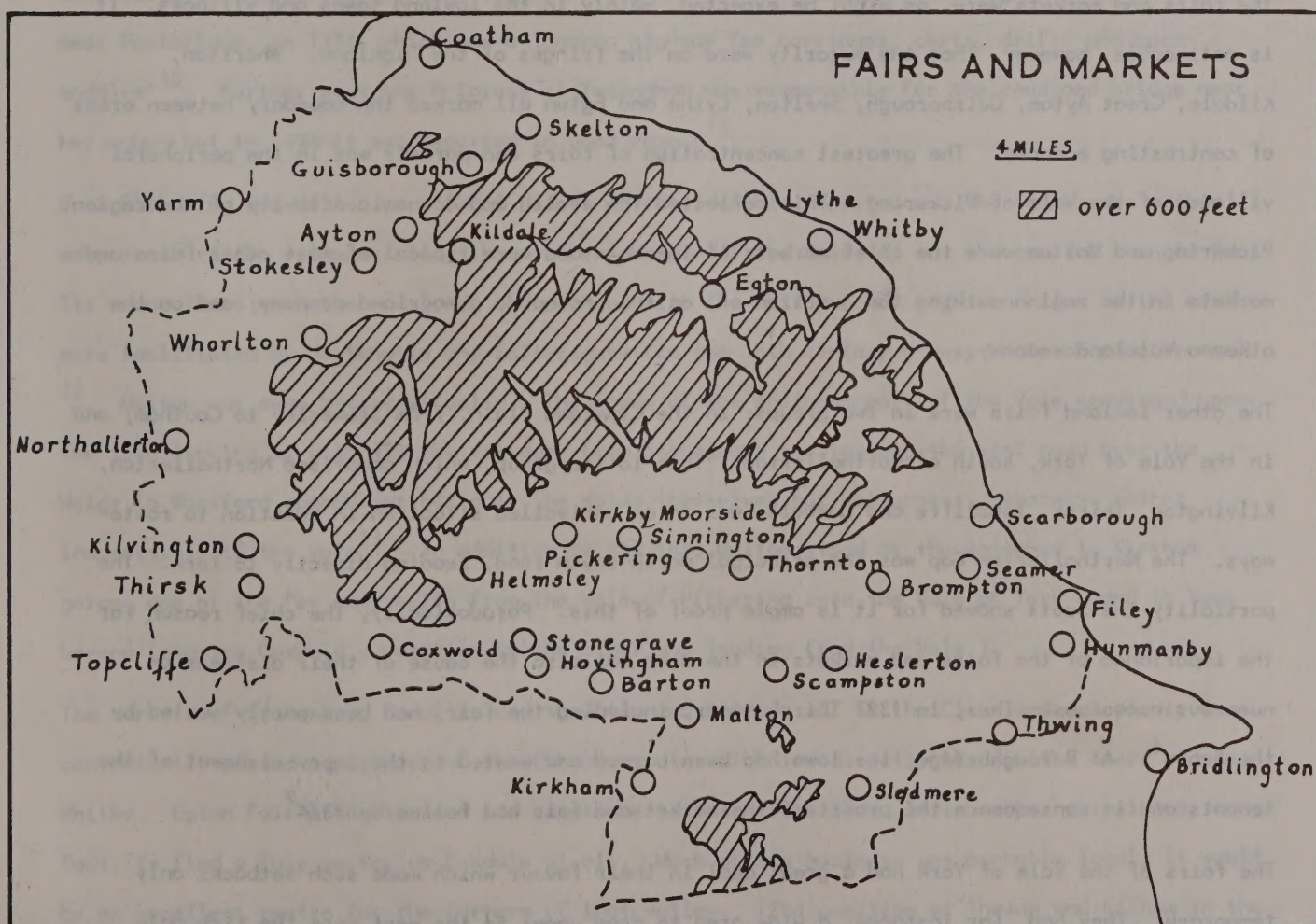


Fig. 1

Priory as early as the 12th century, but the majority of grants for fairs were, as the Calendars of Patent and Charter Rolls show, in the 13th century. Thus Barton-le-Street received its grant in 1246, Heslerton and Hovingham in 1252 and Scarborough in 1253³. Such grants were usually a recognition of what had long existed. Scarborough, for example, had been an important trade centre for many years previous to 1253 and so had many other towns in the area.

Fig.1 draws attention to several important features in the distribution of the fairs and markets. Each port, for example, had its own fair. Nearly always the grant was an early one. Thus, at Whitby Henry II granted and confirmed 'to the aforesaid church in the said vill of Whitby burgage and a fair on the Feast of St. Hilda'⁴. At Bridlington, a much inferior port, the grant had been made in John's reign. Yarm, Coatham and Scarborough had fairs which were very important mainly because of the sea connections the towns had and the great variety of trade this brought them. Scarborough Fair 'attracted a great gathering of trades from most parts of Western Europe, accommodation for them being provided by means of booths and tents pitched in Merchants' Row between Palace Hill and the south-east boundary wall of the town'⁵. This busy trade, largely due to the facility of sea travel over land travel, probably was the reason for the unusually long duration of the fair which lasted forty-five days.

The fairs and markets were, as might be expected, mainly in the lowland towns and villages. It is noticeable, however, that the majority were on the fringes of the highland. Whorlton, Kildale, Great Ayton, Guisborough, Skelton, Lythe and Egton all marked the boundary between areas of contrasting economy. The greatest concentration of fairs and markets was in the peripheral villages of the Vale of Pickering. This reflected the wealth and economic activity of the region. Pickering and Malton were the chief markets of the Vale and were typical of most other fairs and markets in the region marking the junction of, on the one hand, a moorland economy; and on the other a Valeland economy.

The other lowland fairs were in two groups: in the Cleveland Plain, from Stokesley to Coatham; and in the Vale of York, south of Northallerton. This latter group, which comprised Northallerton, Kilvington, Thirsk, Topcliffe and Coxwold, was in an unrivalled situation in relation to route-ways. The Northallerton Gap was the principal north-south road, leading directly to York. The partiality the Scots showed for it is ample proof of this. Paradoxically, the chief reason for the importance of the fairs and markets in the area was also the cause of their distress on numerous occasions. Thus, in 1327 Thirsk manor, including the fair, had been partly wasted by the Scots⁶. At Boroughbridge, the town had been burned and wasted to the impoverishment of the tenants and in consequence the profit of the market and fair had fallen by 73/4⁷.

The fairs of the Vale of York had a great deal in their favour which made such setbacks only temporary. They had, for instance, a wide area to draw upon: to the west were the rich dale

pastures of the Pennines; to the east the sheep country of the North York Moors, and, lying between, the Vale itself, with its emphasis on arable production.

The importance of routeways to fairs and markets was, of course, obvious. It is interesting, however, to see how close a correspondence there often was between them. This is clearest in the Vale of Pickering where the markets all lay along the only roads of any importance, namely the Scarborough-Helmsley, Helmsley-Malton roads. Incidentally, the predominance of Scarborough was due in no small measure to the existence of a road running westwards from the town linking it with a line of market towns⁸. Scarborough was, consequently, the natural collecting point for inland trade in this district. Similarly, the dominance of Malton and Pickering as market towns in the Vale was due mainly to the north-south road which connected them across the marshy Vale, one of the few crossings, in fact. It is significant that the Abbot of Rievaulx had some control over this route; in 1334, for instance, he was said to be responsible for repairing 'Friar's Bridge' over the Costa, across which people were wont to pass by horseback or on foot from Pickering to Malton. Since it is so badly repaired people have had to make a diversion of about half a mile in the forest treading down the deer's pasturage in consequence⁹.

In fact, all but one of the other crossing points of the Vale seem to have been in the hands of the religious. The Prior of the Hospital of St. John had to repair the bridge and road of Pul, near Foulbridge, in 1334, which was a 'common highway for carriages, carts, drifts and pack-saddles'¹⁰. Further west the Prioress of Yedingham was responsible for the road and bridge near her priory but in 1334 it was reported in good repair¹¹.

Both Pickering and Malton were focal points of considerable importance. The former was within easy reach of the villages along the northern margin of the Vale; it was the central town in fact. Its connections with the moorland, and perhaps with the Whitby area, eighteen miles to the north, were facilitated by Newtondale and Saltersgate (in the 18th century a busy route of pannier-men)¹². Malton was even better situated. The roads of the southern part of the Vale converged upon the town linking it with all the villages from Stonegrave to Staxton; the wool road over the Wolds to Wansford opened out not only the Wolds themselves but Holderness, otherwise rather inaccessible to the Vale¹³. In addition to all this Malton stood at the entrance to Kirkham gorge, one of the few easy exits from the Vale of Pickering into the Vale of York - and to York beyond (compare Coxwold's position in the other gap leading from the Vale.)

The markets of Stokesley, Great Ayton, Whorlton and Kildale all in the Cleveland embayment, were conveniently placed in respect of the Eskdale route which led directly through the moors and to Whitby. Egton Fair probably owed its existence to this route too. It is rather surprising, in fact, to find a fair so far up Eskdale at all. Much of its business was probably local; it would be an excellent centre for the farmers of that valley. (The position of Thwing and Kilham in the Great Wold Valley can be compared to Egton and Whitby at the mouth of Eskdale. Both valleys were

the most usual and easiest ways of entering the highlands of which they were part).

If the distribution of monasteries and their granges is compared with the distribution of fairs and markets it will be seen that the former were well situated in relation to the latter. That is to say, no grange was inaccessible to a fair or market. Indeed most were in the position of having a choice of markets. The granges of Byland, Rievaulx and Guisborough in the Vale of York were very close to many fairs and markets such as Northallerton, Coxwold, Stokesley and Yarm. The granges in the Vale of Pickering were just as well placed. Even the moorland granges were within fairly easy reach; thus Guisborough Priory's granges in Eskdale had Kildale, Guisborough, Skelton and Egton fairs no more than six miles away; Rievaulx's granges in Bilsdale had Whorlton to the north of the valley and Helmsley to the south. The incentive to use such fairs was clear; besides their importance as trade centres the monasteries often had privileges which gave them an advantage over other merchants and farmers. Henry II, for example, had granted the monks of Byland and their men the privilege of being free from tolls and levies in all cities, boroughs, markets, fairs, bridges and ports throughout England and Normandy, and many other houses (e.g. Malton) had similar grants¹⁴.

But did the monasteries use local markets and fairs on any scale? Much of their trade was large scale and long-distance. In their wool dealings, for example, it was international fairs like Boston and St. Ives where much of their business was negotiated¹⁵, and it was large towns like York that drew much of their trading interests. They had, indeed, property in such places which they used to further their trade. Moreover, many of their cattle purchases were made in places far outside the North-East; thus Whitby obtained stock from Barnard Castle in the early 14th century¹⁶. At first sight it might be expected that such advanced, highly organised trading communities as the monasteries could have little to do with local trade.

The amount of evidence bearing on this is, unfortunately, small. It appears, from the Whitby Abbey accounts of the late 14th century, that corn was sold at Seamer and Hackness, and in the same places fattened hogs and horses were sold between November, 1394 and May, 1395¹⁷. Much earlier in the abbey's history it had been the custom to buy much of its corn "in Waldo del Pikeringe-lythe" - once again emphasising the Wolds as corn land in the middle ages¹⁸. Of course, the abbey's status as lord of the vill meant that the fair and market of Whitby town was very much used by the abbey. It was in its own interest to expand the trade of market and fair as much as possible so that its income from tolls, plankage, net drying, fishing-boat tithes and so on, could increase¹⁹.

Malton Priory, similarly, had a great interest in Malton market and fair. Most of the victuals bought for use in the Priory were obtained in Malton market. The Canons' dependence on it could have drastic consequences; in 1263, for instance, Agnes de Vescy and several of her ministers "assaulted brothers William de Malton and William de Crauncewyk, canons and others, lay brothers

of the said house, in the common way near the church of St. Leonard, Malton, took, imprisoned and maltreated them, and on many occasions took their horses, sheep, oxen and other cattle of the plough ... and would not let them be replevied, and detained them without food, so that the greater part died of hunger, and by public proclamation, in the said Agnes's full market of Malton, prohibited any persons from selling or taking any victuals to them and from having any communications with them, and frequently took away by force victuals brought for their use, and from day to day, by various distrains, prevent them from cultivating their lands, carrying their hay or corn, storing it in their barns"²⁰.

Such dependence derived in part from the nature of Gilbertine Rules and in part from the distribution of the Priory granges. Malton was the natural collecting point for the produce of the granges. In fact the relation between Malton Priory and its granges was closer than in any other North-Eastern monastery, due mainly to the convergence of roads on the Priory. In respect of the wool produced by each grange it "was ordered ... to be collected from the various granges and brought together at the abbey without any separation of the wool or of any fleeces or wool fells"²¹. This centralisation on Malton was likely to emphasise the importance of the fair and market held there, as well as the trade of the Canons there.

The connection between local fairs and markets and the monasteries was evidently fairly strong. Several more examples can be given to illustrate this. The Bridlington Priory grange of Burton Fleming sold the corn it produced in the nearby markets of Filey, Seamer and Scarborough in 1355-56²², and Rievaulx Abbey was purchasing large amounts of corn in Scarborough during the middle 13th century. In 1262, for example, "a certain Gregory, a merchant coming to the port of Scardeburg with 198 qts. of wheat in a certain ship" had sold all except 24 qts. "to the attorney of the Abbot himself"²³. Besides such definite connections as these, it may be reasonably assumed that the wool collecting activities of most houses, such as Byland, Rievaulx and Malton in the districts around the abbeys (as the documents phrased it, "lane bone collect' circa dom' nostram de Bella Landa")²⁴ would bring the monks into direct contact with local farmers in both fair and market. The later development of industries in some market towns (cloth making at Whitby for example²⁵), the emergence of a body of wool dealers making purchases throughout the district in the 14th century, and the establishment of royal wool collection centres in towns like Malton, all helped to emphasise and increase the importance of local fairs and markets.

Did the fairs and markets of the North-East develop any specialist functions in catering for their particular districts? Outside the area, especially in many Pennine towns, such specialisation had occurred. Masham was a famous sheep market; Middleham was well known for cattle and swine; Bedale for lead²⁶. These markets were a reflection of the areas in which they were situated, for the Pennine dales were famous for sheep, cattle and minerals in the Middle Ages. By the 17th and 18th centuries, at any rate, the fairs of the North-East were renowned for

certain things. Owen's Book of Fairs, published in 1769 described "The Commodities which each of the said Fairs is remarkable for furnishing"²⁷. Thus, Guisborough was noted for horned cattle and linen cloth; Helmsley for horned cattle, sheep, horses and woollen cloth; Malton and Seamer for horses. Marmaduke Rawdon noted in his diary for 1664 as he passed through Northallerton "This hapned to be a faire day for oxen, kine, and sheep, the greatest in England." Later he says of Malton, "thir is kept the greatest horse-fair in England; also it is a greate faire for cattle and other commodities which booth English and Scotch sell thir."²⁸ It is also obvious from the account of Henry Best, the East Riding farmer, who wrote in 1641, that markets had their specialist functions. Each fair met the requirements of its own neighbourhood and in doing so developed along particular lines. The farmers were well aware of this, and the conditions influencing the state of the markets: "White wheate is most in request att Malton", wrote Best, "Dedd-read wheate goeth oftentimes well of att Bridlington ... we sende our dedd-read wheate and massledine (maslin) usually to Malton markette; our barley to Beverley and Pocklington in winter time, and to Malton in summer."²⁹

It is likely that the medieval farmers thought in similar terms and that the markets and fairs showed the same leanings then as they did in the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus although Whitby dealt in corn, iron and many miscellaneous goods in the 14th century it was clear that the fish market was the most important.³⁰ The immense quantities of herring entering and leaving the port during late summer were accompanied by an international gathering of merchants. Coatham Fair would be largely occupied by merchants trading for salt, since it lay in the midst of a salt working area in which the commodity was almost a currency in itself.³¹ The connection between the great herring marts of Whitby and Scarborough and the salt mart of Coatham must have been considerable, merchants purchasing salt at the one to use in barrelling at the other.³²

Thirsk, along with York, appeared to be the main wool market in the 13th century, although the 1361-64 Assize Rolls show that at least at that time wool was purchased in many markets throughout the district, often illegally.³³ Kilham's importance as a corn market, drawing mainly upon the Wolds, was emphasised by the royal corn purchases in the north in the 14th century.³⁴

What evidence there is, then, suggests that the medieval fairs and markets in the North-East were important centres of economic activity, frequented by both lay and monastic farmers. The distribution of fairs and markets shows in detail that their collective hinterland reached to all parts of the area, even to the remote moorlands. Indeed, in the Vale of Pickering and Cleveland such centres were exceptionally well-placed not only in respect of local but also regional trade. This was amplified by particular emphasis on the marketing of one or two specialised commodities which were characteristic of the neighbourhood in which the markets and fairs were located.

Thus a traditional association began in medieval times between a centre and its hinterland which persisted into post-medieval, even later times. All this must be seen as yet further evidence in

the growth of economic sub-regions in North-East Yorkshire.

Medieval Fairs and Markets - footnotes

1. K.L. McCutcheon, Yorkshire Fairs and Markets, Thoresby Soc. (1940), p.3.
2. Constructed mainly from grants of fairs and markets in Cal. Charter Rolls and Cal. Patent Rolls, passim.
3. McCutcheon, op. cit., p.161.
4. Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby, ed. J.C. Atkinson, Surtees Soc., vol.1, pp.147-8.
5. McCutcheon, op. cit., p.132. See also Scarborough 966-1966, Scarborough & District Archaeological Soc., 1966, chs. 3, 4, 5. B. Waites, 'Ports and Trades of North East Yorkshire' in Mariner's Mirror, vol.63, no.2, May 1977.
6. Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem, vii, p.53.
7. Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous, ii (1307-1349), p.95.
8. The burgesses were quit of cheminage through the Forest of Pickering in 1256. North Riding Record Series, iv., p.92.
9. Ibid., iii, p.4.
10. Ibid., p.4.
11. Ibid., pp.4, 5.
12. See 'An account of some Medieval Roads crossing the Moors South and South-West of Whitby', in The Whitby Literary & Philosophical Soc. Report (1922).
13. Henry Best used this route to take his goods to Malton market in the early 17th century. "It is ill going to Malton with draughts, when the fields adjoining to the highway are most of them fough; when our draughts wente either to Malton or Hiddisley quarrey, looke how many wente, and they had each of them victualls putte up for three meales; for they went forth usually on Fryday aboute fower or five of the clocke, and wente usually as farre as Duggleby field, and there loosed and tethered their cattle." (Best, Rural Economy in Yorkshire in 1641, Surtees Soc., vol.33 (1857), p.102.
14. Victoria County History (Yorkshire), iii, p.133.
15. e.g. Recognisance of the Abbot of Byland to Guidon Chissain and Jacob Amadur, merchants of Florence, of £1000 silver for 120 sacks of wool. The same to be paid through 6 years at 250 marks/year in two instalments of 100 marks at St. Edwards Fair, London, and 150 at St. Ives Fair (1278-79). P.R.O., K.R. Mem. Rolls, no.52.
16. Yorks. Archaeological Soc. Record Series, Monastic Notes II, p.51.
17. Cart. Abb. de Whiteby, ii. pp.553-585.
18. Ibid., p.367. Also, B. Waites, 'Aspects of Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Arable Farming on the Yorkshire Wolds', Yorks. Arch. Journal vol.42 (1968) pp.136-42.
19. In later years, "Whitby, as the only market town within 21 miles, drew to itself the trade of the district. From all the countryside for many miles, and from all villages, people gathered into Whitby with their produce for sale - with their wants to be supplied." R.T. Gaskin, The Old Seaport of Whitby (Whitby 1909), p.224.
20. Cal. Patent Rolls (1281-92), p.76.
21. Scripta de fratibus XI, in Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum.

22. York.D. Reg. R.H. 60.
23. Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series, Assize Rolls, (vol.44, p.101) 44 Hen.III.
24. P.R.O.; L.T.R. Mem. Roll (1298-99), No.70. Cf. Meaux Abbey owing 53 sacks of good wool "de collecta de Holderness versus Bridlington et versus Kirkham usque ad Eboracum" (L.T.R. Mem. Roll, No.53.)
25. Cal. Close Rolls (1304), p.134. "All weavers in places outside York, Thirsk, Scarborough, Malton, Beverley, Kirkby and other royal demesne boroughs must cease to ply that trade."
26. Victoria County History (North Riding), i, pp. 251, 255, 323.
27. An extract relating to the Yorkshire fairs is given in McCutcheon, op. cit., pp. 172-177.
28. Life of Marmaduke Rawdon of York (Camden Soc., vol.85).
29. H. Best, op. cit., pp.99-100.
30. A good idea of the miscellaneous goods coming into the town can be obtained from Gaskin, op. cit., pp.328-343, who quotes from two patent rolls (1307, 1351).
31. The Priory of Guisborough stimulated Coatham's trade.
32. Cal. Close Rolls (1392-96), p.386: "last year a great number of foreigners etc. being greedy of excessive gain, in default of the accustomed catch of herring in foreign parts, repaired to Whitby with vessels, salt and other engines and implements needful for the herring trade, and there forestalled others in buying fresh herring in gross of the fishers, salting part in barrels, drying part ... and taking the same over to foreign parts."
33. Thirsk and York mentioned in Pegolotti's List.
34. B. Waites in Mariner's Mirror, cit. supra.

HISTORY OF KIRKDALE WITH THE TOWNS AND VILLAGES ADJACENT (cont.) by Thomas Parker

(In Ryedale Historian No. 10 (1980) we printed Tom Parker's account of Kirkdale and Welburn.

There now follow further extracts from his 'History', based on the earliest of his note-books, dated 1858. Readers may be interested to know that a photograph of Tom as an old man appears in M. Hartley and J. Ingilby, Life in the Moorlands of North-East Yorkshire (1972), illustration no. 193 between pp. 96 and 97.)

III KIRBY MOORSIDE

Kirby Moorside is a Parish Town in the Weapontake of Ryedale, situated on the high road between Pickering and Helmsley, and on the northern bounder of the Vale of Pickering, 28 miles from York 8 miles from Pickering and 5 miles from Helmsley. A Court Leet and Court Baron are held by Lord Feversham, the Lord of the Manor, soon after Michaelmass on a day fixed by the Steward of the Court. The petty Sessions are held once a month alternate with Helmsley. In the year 1851 the population of the Parish of Kirby was 2,612. The Markets are held on Wednesday, and the Fairs on Whit Wednesday and the 18th of September; the Hirings are held on Wednesday after the 5th November. The north and east sides of the town are sheltered by lofty hills, and on the south

and west a beautiful and extensive view presents itself, o'er groves and verdant fields. Being situated in a highly agricultural district, its inhabitants are chiefly employed in agricultural pursuits. Though the town of Kirby is situated so near the barren moors, yet still the land that surrounds it is extremely fruitful. In the last century when the fields and commons laid open, the chief employment of its inhabitants was heckling, flax spinning and weaving; but since the enclosure of the fields and commons in the year 1783¹, the cloth manufactory has gradually diminished, and only one weaving establishment containing two solitary looms, belonging to Mr. Anthony Hammond, now remains. There are three establishments for implement making such as thrashing machines, drills, turnip cutters, straw cutters, etc., carried on by Messrs. Joseph, Christopher and Henry Carter; also an establishment for chair making, and several respectable shops for the sale of all sorts of cloth, hats, bonnets, hardware, drugs, groceries and the like. The principal inns are the White Horse, Black Swan, and Tontine, presided over by Mr. Richard Barthram, Mr. Thomas Coverdale, and Mr. Bethel Thompson.

History

Before the Norman Conquest Kirby was in two Manors², one of which belonged to Gamal, a noted Saxon who possessed a considerable deal of property in these parts and was Lord of the Manors of Lestingham, Spanton and other places; and was ranked among the Northumbrian Nobles. In the Domesday survey we find it in the hands of Torbrand and Orm the son of Gamal. Orm was Lord of the Manors of Kirby, Danby and Lealholm, and being of noble descent, is said to have married Etheldreth daughter of Aldred, Earl of Northumberland.

(Parker's account of the descent of the manor after the Conquest through the families of Stuteville Wake, Holland, Neville is mainly accurate, but a more reliable account is to be found in Victoria County History. Since much of the detail is repeated a little later, the medieval owners are for the moment omitted, and we pass to the 17th century:-)

James I granted (the manor) to his favourite Villars, Duke of Buckingham, who was assassinated at Portsmouth in 1628. In the Civil Wars it became the property of the illustrious House of Fairfax, and continued in their possession till the year 1657 when George Villars 2nd Duke of Buckingham married Lady Mary, daughter of General Lord Thomas Fairfax of Denton in the County of York, and obtained it again in consequence of that marriage. It remained in his hands till his death, which happened at this place, April 17, 1687, when it was purchased by Sir Charles Duncombe, ancestor of the present Lord Feversham, who now holds it.

The ancient Benedictine monks of the celebrated Abbey of St. Mary's of York also possessed lands in Kirbymoorside, till their unjust expulsion from their Abbey in 1538.

A great part of Kirby still remains in the hands of the Freeholders, particularly the street called Castle Gate, granted to the inhabitants by Charles, 6th Earl of Westmorland³.

Houses of Worship

In the town are several respectable built houses, a Church, and four Dissenting Chapels, belonging to the Quakers, Independents and Methodists. Attached to the former of these chapels is a beautiful and secluded burial ground ornamented with trees and shrubs, where repose the ashes of the Friends' Society who have died in Kirby and its vicinity for the last ninety years.

The Church is a gothic edifice consisting of a nave, a chancel and north and south aisles, built apparently in the reign of Henry VII, for several of the windows are perpendicular and the roof is flat⁴. On one of the carved bosses of the roof are the arms of the Nevills, which seems to say that that illustrious family rebuilt the church, for we learn from Domesday that Kirby contained two churches⁵, one in the manor of Orm and the other in that of Torbrand, and most probably this edifice stands upon the foundation of one of them. Where the other church stood there are now no traces. These churches were the eighth part of the number in the whole district, extending as far as Guisborough and to the other side of Whitby.

The south windows of the chancel of Kirby church are pointed and beautifully decorated. The arches of the nave are also pointed, but the arches of the doorways are semicircular; the beautiful south doorway of the chancel is now walled up. The tower was rebuilt in the year 1802 and contains six bells; a clock was also presented by the late Dorothy Comber. On the south side of the chancel near the altar steps is a broken Piscina, and near it a Sedilia or seat, formerly used by the Priest and his Servitors during the time of High Mass. And in the north wall was an arched recess in which was a flat tomb-stone ornamented with a cross. Underneath was found a walled grave plastered with stucco, containing a skeleton with a plate of metal with an inscription near its head; but the inscription was no longer legible. The oldest monument now remaining is on the south wall of the chancel and is of variegated marble, the inscription and effigies in brass; a Lady with her six sons and five daughters kneeling at an altar. Underneath is this:-

Here lyeth the body of my Ladye Brooke, Who while she lived was
a good woman, a very good Mother, and an exceding good Wife.
Her soul is at rest wth. God, for she was sure yt. her Redemer lyved,
and that though worms destroyed her body yet she should see God
in her flesh. Shee dyed the 12th of July 1600.

Near this is another old monument erected in the 18th century. The inscription is in Latin:-

Spe dormit Richardus Hobson de Cropton Armiger. Uxorem sibi
Congenerem Duxit Eleanoram Dilectisimos Quinque Reliquit
Filios proh Dolor. In ipso flore correptus. Obit 2do.
Martii aetatis 28. 1711. Et Eleanora conjux Richardi supradicte
et Filii eorum Richardus, Georgius, Thomas et Joannes.

This family resided for some time in the old Hall in Castlegate. The modern monuments are

erected for the Combers of (East) Newton Hall, Musgraves of Hayton Castle in the County of Cumberland, Robinsons of Keldholm, Atkinsons of Kirby Hall, and the late Schoolmaster Mr. Barecroft of Kirby, a native of Pockley. In the churchyard are several tombstones, the oldest of which is for Mr. John Foxton late of Keldholm. Here is also a beautiful Gothic tomb erected for the late Mrs. Scower of York; at each end is a niche with an Angel kneeling in the attitude of prayer. On one of the gravestones erected for the Bailey family is this line:-

More sinned against than sinning.

At the south entrance of the churchyard is a Schoolhouse erected by public subscription in the year 1796; this is the principal school in Kirby, and presided over by Master Jackson.

The Stuteville Castle

On the east of the church rises the hill on which is the site of the ancient castle of De Stuteville, occupied in the last century by Mary Rendray as garden ground. Of this ancient Baronial Castle ... there are now no traces excepting the deep Moat surrounding it⁶. The Family which occupied it were great in their day and great benefactors of the catholic church. The first which came to England was Robert de Stuteville⁷. Lord of Kirby, he founded the celebrated Priory for Cistercian Nuns at Keldholm in the reign of Henry I; he succeeded Eustace Fitzjohn as Lord of Knaresborough in the same reign. In the reign of King John, William de Stuteville had the command of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland with all their castles; and in the reign of Stephen, Robert de Stuteville was present at the celebrated Battle of the Standard fought near Northallerton, A.D. 1138.

Nicholas de Stuteville gave an annuity of four marks out of his mill at Gillamoor to the nuns of St. Mary's at Keldholm, and the family enriched that Priory with several grants out of their immense possessions, as may be seen in the records of that House. This ancient family besides being Lords of Kirby and Knaresborough were also Lords of Hemlington in Cleveland, and possessed lands in Bransdale, Farndale, Rosedale, Ingleby, Evenitt, Keldholm, Kirby Mills, Rookborough and other places. The Stutevilles were succeeded at Kirby by the Wakes. Hugh, son of Baldwin de Wake⁸, married in the 17th year of Henry III, A.D. 1233, Joan, daughter of the last-named Nicholas de Stuteville, who being his heiress, carried the Barony of Kirby to that family. Hugh de Wake died about the year 1300, and Joan his wife died in the 4th year of Edward I. The impression of her seal is a woman riding on horseback holding the bridle in her right hand. She was succeeded at this place by Baldwin de Wake, her son, who at his decease left two sons, John and Thomas, and one daughter, Margaret. John and Thomas dying without issue in the reign of Edward III, Margaret, their sister, succeeded them. She had married Edmund de Woodstock, Earl of Kent, and had one daughter, Joan, for her beauty called the Fair Maid of Kent, who married Edward the Black Prince, father of Richard II. She also married Sir Thomas Holland Knight, afterwards Earl of Kent. Thomas died A.D. 1362 leaving Thomas his son and heir. Thomas was succeeded at

this place by Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, whose sister Elizabeth, married John, Lord Nevill of Raby, who died A.D. 1423.

The Nevill Castle

In consequence of this marriage Kirby passed to the Nevills, who had their residence at the Castle whose ruins may still be seen upon the hill at the north-west end of Castle Gate. The foundations of this castle, once the pride and security of the town⁹, are still traceable. On the accessible side, which is east and north, it seems to have been defended by strong works which before the use of gunpowder would render it impregnable. The walls and towers on the north-west side have been built on the edge of a deep ravine called the Manor Vale; a large portion of these walls is yet standing. In the year 1730 a wing of this castle, with substantial rooms in it, was pulled down and removed to build the Tollbooth, and the work of despoilation only ceased about forty years ago. So it may be said of this as of so many of its kind; Sic transit gloria mundi. One of the keys of this castle, having a fleur de lys on its handle, is kept at one of the old houses in Castle Gate. When we reflect that in this castle has dwelt one of the highest families, the powerful Nevills; the mighty Earl of Salisbury and his yet mightier son the renowned King-maker Warwick, members of the same family, we regret that nothing remains of its greatness but a ruined wall.

From this castle in the year 1570, Charles Nevill, sixth Earl of Westmorland made his escape in a great snow, from the man-hunting myrmidons of Queen Elizabeth. But his estate and castle with its extensive parks were only a small appendant to the vast domains of the family. "The chief residence of the powerful Family of the Nevills," says Camden, "was at Raby Castle, the most extensive and magnificent in the North of England."

The once magnificent Castle of Middleham belonged to this family, and Barnard Castle also belonged to the last representative of it when he engaged with the Earl of Northumberland who headed the northern forces (in defence of their faith and country) against the tyrannical oppressions of Queen Elizabeth. The Nevills were also lords of the manor of Sinnington, of the castle and manors of Skelton, and of Danby in Cleveland.

They founded the College and Church of Staindrop in the County of Durham in the reign of Henry IV, where they are buried, and whose yearly revenue is worth £2,525 8s. 4d. Richard Nevill, Earl of Northumberland, with George Nevill, Bishop of Exeter, also founded in the year 1460 the College of St. William in York, whose yearly income at its dissolution was £22 12s. 8d., now worth £452 3s. 4d. The Nevills also founded and endowed the free schools of Snape near Bedale, which yet remain. In the year 1162 Ralph de Nevill founded the Cistercian Nunnery of Basedale, (Hutton Lowcross) whose yearly revenue is worth £439 6s. 8d., granted 36th of Henry VIII to Ralph Bulmer and John Thynde. (Parker continues with a rather complicated pedigree of the latter Nevills, Earls of Westmorland, which can be more easily consulted in his principal source,

Eastmead's Historia Rievallensis. He follows this family tree, however, with an item which is not as readily available; our thanks are due to Dr. W.J. Sheils, of the Borthwick Institute, who identified Leland's Collectanea as the source - pp 2-6 of Vol. VI of the 1774 edition. Some discrepancies of order and number suggest that Leland was not Parker's direct source.)

"Anno Domini 1470. In the 10th year of King Edward IV, George Nevill, brother to the Great Earl of Warwick, at his installation into the Archbishopric of York, made a prodigious feast to all the Nobility, most of the prime Clergy, and many of the gentry. The contents of whose bill of fare were as follows:

300 quarters of wheat	4000 ducks
330 tuns of ale	400 hersews ('heronshaws')
104 tuns of wine	200 pheasants
1 pipe of spiced wine	500 partridges
('Ypocrasse' in Leland)	4000 woodcock
above 400 bucks, does	400 plovers
and roebucks	100 curlews
80 fat oxen	100 quails
6 wild bulls	1000 egrets
1004 weathers ('muttons')	200 Reese ('foules called Rees')
300 calves	1506 hot venison pasties
200 kids	4000 cold venison pasties
300 hogs	1500 parted dishes of gelly
300 pigs	4000 dishes of plain gelly
4000 rabbits (conyes')	4000 cold custards
3000 capons	2000 hot custards
100 peacocks	300 pikes
200 geese	300 breams
4000 pigeons	8 seals, 4 porpoises
204 bittouns ('bittors')	400 tarts

At this feast the Earl of Warwick was Steward, the Earl of Bedford Treasurer, the Lord Hastings comptroller, with many more noble Officers; and to the dressing and ordering of which no less than 1000 servitors, 62 cooks and 515 kitcheners were employed. But seven years after, the King seized on all the estate of this Archbishop and sent him over a prisoner into France. He returned again and died in England, Anno 1476, and was buried in York Minster.

Charles, the sixth and last Earl of Westmorland, in the year 1570 was robbed by a Persecuting Protestant Government of estates of the yearly value of thirty thousand pounds, and condemned to be beheaded¹⁰. He fled into Flanders, where he lived on a pension allowed him by the King of

Spain. It is said the Earl of Westmorland escaped from Kirby in a deep snow having his horse shoes reversed. The descendants of the blacksmith who shod the horse not long since enjoyed a house in Castle Gate as a reward for their ancestor's service, at the rent of one farthing a year, with privilege of hunting and shooting. There is now in the chancel of the Church of Kirbymoorside a stone reversed to preserve the device, which is said to cover the remains of the blacksmith, having the blacksmith's arms upon it.

Old Kirby Moorside

The ancient town of Kirby (according to tradition) stood in the field called Applegarth situated at the foot of the Castle Hills. But alas this old town was burned down, as is evident from the foundations of the burnt houses which were dug up in the time of Mr. Eastmead. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, the markets of this ancient town (according to Camden) were held in great repute. There were formerly two ponds above Kirby, one on the north side of Stuteville Castle, and the other on the south of it. These supplied the town with water. and were called Bibbers, in consequence of the water being collected into them by drains; hence the hills above the Church are called Vivvers Hills¹¹. The use of these ponds was at length superseded by a rill of water that was brought to Kirby about the year 1747¹². It is brought from the moors at the distance of nearly ten miles. In the Act of Parliament for inclosing the Commons and common fields, passed in the year 1788, a clause was inserted for the future protection of the stream; in pursuance of this authority, the Commissioners in their Award gave laws for the management of it.

Kirby Moorside in 1858

The present town of Kirby consists of one long, wide street, in the direction of north and south (which stretches from the Percy End¹³ to the ruins of Nevill's castle), and four smaller ones branching from it, called West End Street, Tinley Garth, Howe End Street and Dale End Street. The first two lead to Helmsley, the third to Pickering, and the fourth to Gillamoor and the distant moors, on the high road to which is the Union Workhouse. In Tinley Garth is a Prison. The Market Place is situated at the centre of the town, and in it is the Toll Booth, at the south end of which stands the headless Market Cross and at its foot the parish Stocks, lately repaired. Behind the Toll Booth is the Shambles. About the year 1823, when the old Green Dragon Inn which stood in this market place was taken down, and the new Tontine built, the remains of 12 human bodies were found buried beneath the steps and pavements of the out-buildings. The general opinion of the time was that these were the remains of travellers who were lodged at the inn and murdered by a malicious family who resided at it for generations. Some of the skulls were broken in as with a hammer, while others with the hair still fresh upon them were pierced with huge nails. A skeleton was also found about 60 years ago when the gateway was built which opens into the street¹⁴. In an ancient house at the west side of the market place and in a small chamber, April 17th, 1687, died George Villars, Duke of Buckingham. Being hunting with his famous hounds at

Sinnington, which he founded and which is now the oldest pack in England, he was overtaken with a sudden fit of illness proceeding from a rupture complaint, he called at this inn, and alas in a short time his malady proved fatal. Being of wild and dissipated habits, he had squandered away his immense estates and was left at this time with little else but poverty. Having married the daughter of Lord Fairfax of Denton, "the fair and gentle Mary", he became one of the greatest favourites of King Charles II, but at the death of that Merry Monarch, which occurred February 6th, 1685, he retired to his Castle of Helmsley, which he still lived in "merry mood" till his death, being courted by his tenantry as an easy landlord. While repairing the floor of the chamber where this nobleman died, a few years ago was found his steel Seal with his arms engraven upon it¹⁵.

But we leave this house and proceed to the Manor Vale, which is entered from the Dale End Street through the Howlyat as it is called, which opens between two ancient Lodges. This deep, romantic Vale is thickly clothed with wood on either side, from the bosom of which looks the ruined Castle of De Nevill. This valley has been a favourite retreat for the last half century of the successive families who have resided in Castlegate Halls, which have long been the property of the Atkinson family. These Halls are surrounded by lofty trees which contain an eminent rookery. In this town about 21 years ago lived an eccentric character named Mary Walker, and being of the Ranter persuasion was tempted to pull down her neighbour's hedge. However, while proceeding with breaking the unfortunate fence, she endeavoured to keep her mind stayed upon her devotions, and every stick which she stowed into her bundle, she sounded forth these words of exultation and joy: "Glory, Alleluia".

The Catholics who resided in Kirby Moorside in the last century were visited by the Rev'd. James Barrow of East Ness, and the Catholics of the present time are visited by one of the Benedictine Fathers from the Monastery dedicated to St. Lawrence in Ampleforth.

On January 1st, 1779, a tempestuous wind blew a sheet of lead, 3000 lbs weight, from the top of the church here, and carried it across the churchyard, over a house into the street, the distance of sixty yards.

(The further Tom Parker gets from his home base, the more he relies on other writers; we have already seen him quoting liberally from Eastmead's Historia Rievallensis, in particular. There is not much vintage Parker in the rest of his treatment of the outliers of the parish of Kirby Moorside - Kirby Mills, Keldholme, Fadmoor, Gillamoor - though interested students should note that his later third volume is devoted to an extended lyrical account of Keldholme Priory. When he turns his attention to Helmsley, the same drawbacks are apparent, and there is little point in reproducing at length his historical survey of this town, which is now superseded by later studies. Well worth printing, however, is his description of Helmsley in the 1650s, preceded by an anecdote about the Duke of Buckingham and followed by a list of 'remarkable occurrences', based largely on

the lost diaries of John Pape, some of which were cited by Isaac Cooper in his pamphlet of c.1870, Helmsley 100 Years Ago.)

IV HELMSLEY

When George Villars, Duke of Buckingham, was companion to the Earl of Rochester, riding together one day they met with a Boy which they termed a Green Goose. The Duke accosted him thus: 'Boy, can thou to me tell, which is the nighest road to Hell?'. 'By Rochester, I've heard them say, but Buckingham's the nighest way,' answered the boy, and left them both in confusion.

The Town of Helmsley in 1858

Since the accession of the present William Lord Feversham (Charles, first Baron Feversham, died in 1841) to the estates and possessions of the Duncombes, the Town of Helmsley has been greatly improved, old houses have been taken down and new and elegant ones erected in their stead. The Market Place, which is the best in those parts and still retains its ancient Cross, has been drained, and the principal Inns, which are on the north side of it, have been rendered elegant and comfortable. The ancient Boro Beck, which still keeps its Saxon name and flows the length of the High Street to empty itself into the Rye, has been arched over till it passes the Churchyard situated in the centre of it. The inhabitants have assumed a gay and lively appearance.

But in the year 1821 when I first visited it, "far other scenes" were here:

the houses low and covered with thatch, and through one of its principal streets a frightful stream running¹⁶, where might be seen the ancient peasantry driving their teams of oxen, while here and there through the Market Place stalked the Halberd Men, armed like the sentinels of the Middle Ages, and the old women with ancient garb (in keeping with the dress of the rest of the inhabitants) carrying turf to mend the fire which burnt upon their lowly hearth, where still may be seen some of the ancient hood plates with inscriptions stating that they were made in the time of the Earls of Rutland; and tradition says at the Iron Forge at Rievaulx¹⁷. What kept the town in the state of existence at the time above mentioned was the unchangeable mind of the late Lord Feversham, an enemy to pride, extravagance and dress; but since his day, like the rest of the neighbourhood, its wings have become fledged.

On the north side of the Church stands the Canon House or residence of the Canons of Kirkham who officiated in this church prior to the destruction of their house. At the east gates of the churchyard in the corner of the Market Place is one of the beautiful timber-built houses, with fantastic gable, which formed the streets of English towns before the time of Queen Elizabeth. At the north gates was another which disappeared a few years ago; and also in the streets were several more.

At the east end of the town stand the parish stocks, and in the market place a circular prison; and formerly this ancient town had its maypole; but this standard of festivity is gone. Besides the Parish Church, Helmsley has three places of worship: a chapel for the Calvinists, who were

numerous in the last century; one for the Quakers and another for Methodists. The Catholics resident here in the last century and the beginning of the present one were attended monthly by the Chaplains of the late Earls of Falconberg formerly at Newburgh Hall; they had a room in the High Street wherein Mass was celebrated for the Catholics of the town and neighbourhood, the sum of ten pounds yearly being left by the late Mr. Smith for that purpose. Those of the present day attend the Catholic Church at Ampleforth.

In the earliest years of the Wesleyans, whose faith at that time was thought to remove mountains, an ancient couple who resided in this town were proselytes to the same holy and everlasting cause; wonderful as it may seem, though stricken in years, they were newly born again. The strong faith of the husband commanded the wife to place the oven upon the fire and then hasten with him to the Chapel, to fulfil the duties of the Sabbath; the wife places the oven. 'But where', in astonishment cried she, 'is the dinner?' 'If thy faith be as strong as mine', said the husband, 'the Lord will provide'. But the thoughtful wife, unknown to her husband, placed a dinner in the oven and then hastened to the Chapel. The faith of her husband grew stronger during the service; and as soon as the solemnities of the morning were past he hastened to his cottage, and lifting the lid of the oven cried: 'Here is the dinner. How great is my faith!' 'But greater mine,' replied the wife, 'for putting it in. For if I had not, with all thy grace and multitudes of faith, we should have had to go without our dinner.'

When Cook wrote his Itinerary, there was a considerable trade carried on in Helmsley in the manufacture of cottons and linen, and at the commencement of the present century there was work for one hundred looms and one hundred doughty weavers, for there were 22 public houses. Since that time the cotton and linen trade has gradually diminished and finally disappeared.

In the last century a custom was observed in this town, which had prevailed from time immemorial. In Good Friday after the religion duties of the day were past, the dames and their waiting maids emptied their shelves of the pewter, which was then scoured and arranged along the fronts of their houses in the streets. Then these frugal dames and maids went round to see who had the best show of plates and dishes.

List of Remarkable Occurrences

The following list of occurrences is copied from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. Saville Wind, formerly of Rye House, antiquarian. (Copied Nov. 9th, 1856.)

1575, Parish Register Begins.

1644, Castle besieged.

October 28th, 1754, a great flood at Helmsley¹⁸. (John Pape's diary)

The same year, great distemper among cattle in Helmsley.

1757, The Terrace at Rievaulx Bank Top was finished, being worked at about eight years.

On Sunday the 15th after Trinity the same year, the 18th September, Squire Duncombe desired all

his tenantry to come and assist him against the mob that was risen about the Militia; there were 14 hundred and twenty men with armour. Squire Duncombe gave them meat and drink at the Park, and at night meat and drink at the inns.

1757, Turnpike made between Sproxton and Golden Square House.

1758, great crops of all things were taken up in Raegarh Close; 142 potatoes at one root. The water course brought to Stiltons by Joseph Foord, and a new house built at Harriot Hare. The Grange woods felled and sold, beginning with the year 1755.

1758-9, the finest winters that were ever known, the weather being like summer. In January the roads were dusty, and so continued. There was rye shot in the ear at Candlemas.

1760, the well begun to be sunk in the Market Place at Helmsley.

1761, the Duke of York at Helmsley and Duncombe Park, August 31st. Monk Gardens enclosed the same year.

1762, the water carried to the new gardens (Duncombe Park). Great drought that year.

1763, Lingfoot enclosed in March. It used to be eaten till three days after May Day, and broken on Matthew Little Fair Day. Turnpike made on Lingfoot Lane. The Archbishop of York and the Duke of York also the same year at Duncombe Park. Water brought to Pockley.

1764, Turnpike made in the Acres Lane, and over Lingfoot and Plockwood Lane to the half-mile gate.

1765, the Duke of Rutland's tenants' rents risen. Water carried to Low Fields.

1766 new bell hung. Thomas Duncombe paid for (re-?) casting the old bell; it is called the gift of Thomas Duncombe. Well sunk in Bondgate the same year.

1768, water carried to Griff. Dr. Conyers built his house (since called Conyers Hall, situated in Duncombe Gardens). He bought the ground of William Emmerson for £470.

1770, the new peal of bells hung at Helmsley.

1772, April 19th (Easter Sunday) was the severest frost ever known in Helmsley at that time of the year. It continued snowing all the day very fast; it was a foot thick on level ground. Boro Beck arched over from Rye Bridge to opposite Castle Gate.

1776, August 1st, died John Pape of Helmsley, aged 101 years.

1779, Thomas Duncombe High Sheriff for the County of York. August 17th, great flood in Helmsley.

1783, the Mausoleum in Helmsley churchyard was built. In which are deposited the following

remains:	William Soulby Esq.	died May 23rd 1777 aged 38 years
	Robert Soulby Esq.,	died 1792 aged 84 years
	Mary Soulby	died Oct. 14th 1762 aged 56 years
	Maria Duncombe	died Aug. 29th 1791 aged 25 years
	Sarah Duncombe	died Apl. 22nd 1798 aged 28 years
	Isabella Duncombe	died Apl. 11th 1799 aged 58 years
	Deborah Duncombe	died May 15th 1831 aged 81 years

1828, August 6th. A heavy shower of rain accompanied with a dreadful storm of thunder and lightening, fell in the East Moors near Bournfield Gill, which washed a great quantity of peat earth into the waters of the Riccal which choked the fish from Burnfield to where it empties itself into the Rye.

July 13th the same year a great flood in the Rye which did considerable damage in the neighbourhood of Helmsley by wasting a great quantity of hay etc. There has not been such a flood in the Rye since 1779.

1822, June 13th. Taking down part of an old house in the Canon Garth adjoining the churchyard, two local tokens were found, one of them issued by John Thurnham of Kirkbymoorside in the 17th century; the other had an inscription 'Peter Madox of New Malton and Kirkbymoorside, his half-penny', on the reverse a hen and chickens.

1841, July. Was buried in the family vault, Helmsley, the Right Hon. Charles Lord Feversham, whose funeral was attended by at least 4000 people, the procession reaching from the gates near the Ionic Temple to the Castle. The men were served with bread, meat and ale, but no women or children were allowed to enter the Park gates. The tenantry were presented with scarves, and the coffin alone cost five hundred pounds.

1850, January. Ernest Augustine, eldest surviving son of Lord Feversham attained his majority. Great doings in Helmsley, bells ringing, bullock roasting, and high festivity.

1856, June 10th. The Yorkshire Architectural Society held their spring meeting in the Court House here, when several relics of antiquity were exhibited, papers read, and the Church, Castle, Duncombe Hall, Rievaulx Abbey, Newton Grange Chapel, Oswaldkirk, Ampleforth, Byland Abbey, Coxwold, Newburgh Priory and Scawton were visited.

(Finally, two brief passages on the environs of Helmsley; Pockley, and East Moors.)

V POCKLEY

Pockley is in the parish of Helmsley, population (1851) 227. The land is good and produces excellent crops; the village long and straggling, the houses covered with thatch and very low. In former times the main occupation was weaving, now they follow agriculture.

In Saxon times the lord of the manor was Ulf. In a field adjoining the chapel in this village is the site of an ancient mansion, probably the residence of the proprietors before the union with Helmsley. The above chapel is built in the Gothic style; it is a chapel of ease for the incumbent of Helmsley, and contains a beautiful marble table. It was built by the late John Holliday of Kirby Moorside, and opened on October 27th, 1822.

Pockley was the birthplace of Mr. William Bearcroft, late schoolmaster of Kirby Moorside, a man eminent in his profession and greatly beloved by his pupils. The late John Jackson, R.A., who became a well-known portrait-painter in London, was educated by him. He published a work on

education called 'Practical Orthography'; he died at Kirby Moorside at an advanced age, and was buried at that place, where his monument may be seen on the north wall of the chancel.

The family of Barecroft has resided at Pockley from time immemorial, and there was a parchment kept in the family of a lease of a house in the village from the Earl of Rutland in the time of Elizabeth I. One of the family worked at the iron forge at Rievaulx.

In 1763 a rill of water was brought to Pockley from the distant moors. In Pockley about 1818 lived Richard Baker who, though not licensed for a public house, sold treacle beer, which he considered (though weak in spirit) to be real Yorkshire Stingo! Being a considerable distance from the church and out of sight of the parson, he kept open house during the Sabbath Day. Even in the time of prayer his house was full to overflowing by the wild marauders of the East Moors and other places in the vicinity, attracted hither by the taste of his noted Stingo, which he fancied grew better with every fresh brewing. One Sunday, however, his customers feigned drunk, tore down the furniture, hit him on the head, tweaked his nose, etc., which made him repent of his strong stingo. Seeing his house in confusion and his best Sunday hat on the floor knocked off by one of these drunkards, he declared the brew should be weaker, for though a dealer in small beer, yet still he was an enemy to excess.

In a field adjoining this village a few months ago (1857) was cleared away a mound, probably one of the ancient British tumuli, which was found to contain human bones. (Probably Drake Howe, the 'Dracow Howe' of the 1637 survey. North Yorkshire County Record Office, Duncombe Archive). In the vicinity of Pockley is a celebrated spring called Lady Keld. The name is Saxon, the spring probably dedicated to the Virgin.

VI EAST MOORS

The East Moors are a wild and romantic tract of country, dotted here and there with old dilapidated houses, some of them of only one storey, and mostly situated in the gills and sheltered places. At best it is but a bleak and inhospitable climate, yet even here the people are blessed with a subsistence, from the adjacent moors, which supply them with turf for fuel, and from the inclosed lands, with corn to make their bread. Their cattle consist chiefly of sheep which are seen nibbling at the bent and short grass which clothes the hills and dales of this wild region, where the people are employed in agricultural pursuits and mining coal; East Moors coal is considered excellent for burning lime. In the last century the inhabitants of these moors were employed in the season in digging and conveying turf to the neighbouring town of Helmsley, which was done by oxen; the master was seen driving, and the dame, clad in russet robes of linsey woolsey, with a halter in her hand, leading the first yoke of oxen through the streets to their appointed destination. Weaving was also part of their employment.

During winter evenings the youngsters of these moors are seen in groups around their cottage hearths listening to some tale of haunting or witchcraft, that are yet firmly believed in, while

the elders of the families are reading their bibles without note or comment and explaining them according to their own fancy.

The oldest families who live in the East Moors are the Woods; they were settled at Hasty and Cowhouse Banks in the time of the Dukes of Buckingham. An ancestor of theirs held his farm of the last Duke for keeping one of his hunting horses during the hunting season. There is a story still told, that John Wood of Cowhouse Bank at this period led a bachelor life. He was one day accosted by the Duke: "John, why don't you marry?"

John answered, "Your Grace, my farm is too dear, I can scarcely support myself. If anything should happen to you, and the estate of Helmsley, of which my farm is a part, pass to other hands, the rent would be raised and I unable to pay, and I would be turned off into the world with a family at my heels."

"What is your yearly rent?" cried the witty and compassionate Duke.

"Five pounds, your Grace."

"Is that the obstacle?" retorted the Duke. "Then I will remove it. I grant the farm at Cowhouse Bank in East Moors at the yearly rent of five pounds to John Wood and his heirs for ever."

The Duke died, but John did not comply and neglected the claim. The grant was lost and the rent of the farm is now risen to the annual rate of £100. The late William Wood of Hasty Bank lived to the ripe age of 96. He was father of a numerous family and had sons and daughters to the amount of 23. He was buried at Helmsley after the old custom, being carried to the place of interment upon a bier.

The Ventrices have lived for a long time in the East Moors. They are of French extraction and first settled in Whitby. The Bowes family is also very old-standing; the late Thomas Bowes of Old Fold was a very eccentric character who preached Calvinism to the natives of this wild region, like a loud trumpet. To save trouble of foddering, he turned his cows to the haystack. In his youth he was a noted fiddler at Wake or Gossiping. The Calvinism that was expounded here by this noisy preacher is now extinct; the profession of the present generation is a wild sort of Methodism.

In the eighteenth century a few Catholics resided on these moors. They were attended by a chaplain of the Earls of Falconberg, then living at Newburgh Hall. These indefatigable priests were seen coping with the wildest weather, to bring to their scattered flocks the bread of life.

In the Piethorn district of these moors rise the celebrated springs that supply water to the villages of Pockley, Nawton, Beadlam, and Skiplam Rigg. The highest hill is called Roppa, whose heath-clad head is seen and hailed full many a league by the offspring of these wild regions as king of their native mountains.

NOTES

1. 1788, not 1783, according to Victoria County History (North Riding), vol.1 512.
2. The various 'Chirchebi' entries in Domesday have caused editors some headaches. But Victoria County History (Yorkshire), vol.II, p.242, is in no doubt that Torbrand's holding was in Kirby Misperton (though he did also hold lands in Nawton and Welburn). See ibid. p.275 for the Kirby Moorside entry, with just the one manor, held by Gamal along with Kirkdale. See also Darby & Maxwell, Domesday Geography of Northern England, 1962, p.8. The status of Kirby Moorside before the Conquest seems to have been that of a large Anglo-Saxon manor with numerous outlying berewicks.
3. The last Nevill to hold the manor, up to 1570. A feature of 17th and 18th century surveys and rentals is the number of copyholders in Kirby Moorside - a category entirely absent from the neighbouring town of Helmsley.
4. See Victoria County History (North Riding) and Pevsner for more accurate details. Since Parker wrote, the chancel has been almost completely rebuilt, and a thorough restoration of whole fabric carried out by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1873-5.
5. Eastmead, Historia Rievallensis (1824), p.83, points out that the second church was probably Kirkdale.
6. R.H. Hayes notes: the Stuteville castle is not a motte, but a moated and embanked enclosure, 260 ft. by 200 ft. (approx.); ditches 12-14 feet deep. Fishponds on north and west sides were used as town's water-supply until the eighteenth century. Mary Rendray's garden is on the north-west side, later used as tennis courts. Trial trenching by RHH and others, 1960-64, produced some 12-13th century pottery and a trace of stone footings, though the earliest building was probably of wood.
7. RHH: Hugh Baldric's manor passed to Robert de Stuteville in 1070, presumably by royal grant, and after Robert's forfeiture in 1106 reverted to the King's hands. Robert de Stuteville (III) recovered Kirby later, but only as sub-feudatory to the Mowbrays.
8. For an Extent of the property, see inquest on Baldwin Wake in Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series, vol. xii.
9. RHH: the Neville castle probably built about 1408 on the site of an earlier (13th-14th century) building. Excavations have taken place here in 1962 (B.H. Davison), 1963-5 (Ann Dornier), and 1974 (R.A.H. Williams). Reports in Yorks. Arch. Journal, vol. xlii (Pt. 165, 1967), pp. 98-102, and vol. xlii (1977), pp.87-96. The Neville edifice was a hunting lodge rather than a castle proper.
10. The consequence of the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569.
11. Parker is here relying too faithfully on Eastmead. The 'bibber' = drinker derivation is fallacious. The Vivver spelling, combined with the situation of the ponds (see also note 6 above), provides the real clue - vivary or fish-ponds. Similar forms, vivar or vevers for example, occur elsewhere and relate to known fish-ponds.
12. For Joseph Foord's various watercourses or 'made rills' see History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District (ed. McDonnell), York 1963, pp.211-219.
13. Now Piercy End, from Percehay, the name of the lords of Ryton, who had a house in Kirby.
14. Eastmead (op. cit.), who saw these remains, gives a description which suggests burials of Roman or Saxon period, with some cremations. Cf. RHH in Ryedale Historian no. 10 (1980), p.7, on the derivation of the Kirby Moorside place-name.

15. The supposed Buckingham seal is now in question. The house to which the Duke was carried was in fact not an inn, but the best house in the town.
16. Presentments in 18th century manor court records show that, besides receiving refuse of all sorts, Boro Beck was used, illicitly, to rett flax.
17. Such a hood-plate, with the arms of the King of Spain and of Queen Elizabeth I, dated 1577, has been found at Cartoft (Kirby Moorside).
18. For the 'Great Flood', see History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District (1963) Appendix M.

REVIEWS:-

Marston Moor, 2 July 1644: The Sources and the Site

by P.R. Newman

Borthwick Paper No. 53, 1978.

Marston Moor was perhaps the most crucial battle in the most crucial year of the English Civil War. By 1644, the initial successes of the king's forces were beginning to be outweighed by the overwhelming advantages possessed by Parliament, namely, possession of the main ports of the kingdom, the capital itself, the two main arsenals in the country, the populous (and highly taxable) south-eastern counties, and the military alliance with the Presbyterian Scots. Marston Moor resulted in the loss of the north country, King Charles' chief remaining asset, to his enemies.

It was however, such an unnecessary battle. Prince Rupert's brilliant manoeuvre to the north of York to relieve that city a few days before had signalled the end of the danger to the royalist north. Further, had the Prince but known it, the Scots and the English forces were about to part company, and an attack on their joint forces was a risk which need never have been taken.

Some of the dramatic circumstances of this most dramatic of Civil War battles remain long in the memory: the great clap of thunder on the damp summer evening followed by torrential rain, during which the hour-long battle took place; Lord Goring's devastating charge against Fairfax and the Roundhead right, sweeping them completely off the scene; the havoc caused by Oliver Cromwell's cavalry to the royalist right, though he himself was wounded in the neck; the bravery of the Earl of Newcastle, whose "lamb" dyed their white coats with their own blood; Prince Rupert's little dog, Boy, his lucky mascot, running into the battle and being killed in the fray; the piles of royalist bodies when all was over, so many that even a month after their burial it was said that the stench "almost poisoned them that passed over the moor".

Mr. Newman, a research student at York University, has written a pamphlet which should help the scholar interested in exact topographical accuracy, to reconstruct more authentically the tactics of Marston Moor. He shows how the primary sources, especially the near-contemporary narratives, and the actual archaeology of the site, have been largely neglected by historians of the battle. The author gives a suggested alternative reconstruction of the battle tactics, both in map and narrative summary. All addicts of Civil War reconstruction, and lovers of the Long Marston district, will benefit from Mr. Newman's short work.

Aelred Burrows OSB

It may seem presumptuous for someone who is not a specialist in seventeenth century economic history to review this Paper. It would, however, be undesirable for opinions on such writings to be confined to specialists when the use of them should be much wider, now that there is so much interest in the development of the society of villages and the forming of the countryside. Much is written and read on medieval and on post-enclosure village history but 17th century history - apart from the fighting in the Civil War, remains for the most part obscure, complex and ill-recorded.

This clear, logically referenced Paper contributes much to the understanding of aspects of the period. Without becoming a catalogue, it sets out a considerable amount of information concerning changes in the ownership of the Archiepiscopal Estates before, during and immediately after the Civil Wars. Indeed part of the value of the Paper lies in fulfilling the authors' claim:

"To examine both stages of the process (i.e. the confiscation and the process of restoration) in order to assess its overall effect on one major ecclesiastical estate." (page 2)

Limiting the area covered to one estate enables the writers to be specific in examples, and those examples to be meaningful to local historians. The two Appendices, giving detailed lists of tenants and purchasers of properties, even small ones such as cottages or individual fields, are useful here. The extended sweep in time from confiscation to restoration gives a sense of both change and continuity in the area covered.

The national background to the sales of the Estates is succinctly given and its effects set out. But this Paper is more than a record of facts. Sentences occur worth further study and application to other local situations:

"Despite the fact that the lands were almost all concentrated in Yorkshire, only one third of the estates sold were purchased by local men. Almost half the estates were purchased by Londoners ..."

(page 6)

The status of the purchasers is discussed and a conclusion given:

"very few tenants were active in the land market."

Local historians could well ponder the implication of these sentences for other estates sold in the same period, for families in their chosen area of study and for the financial standing or ambitions of the tenant farmers of the time.

The second part of the Paper discusses the restoration of the Estates after 1660. Here the tact and sense of compromise of Archbishop Frewen show, bringing fresh importance to the career of this man. The use of the Paper to the local historian is again seen in the information given of his

policy of augmenting certain parish livings. Why were Guisborough, Ormesby and Skelton selected for generous treatment? (page 26)

The effect on the tenants of the whole process of sale and restoration of the Estates is assessed. Nearly half of the names of tenants after the restoration were new:

"... the question remains as to how typical or not this level of turnover is for a thirty year period (1635-65) in the seventeenth century." (page 28)

The Notes to the text give clear reference to the sources; it is a measure of the worth of this Paper that, of 106 notes, 70 are references directly to manuscript sources.

A review in a local history journal is for the guidance of those who read the journal - people who are interested in the history of a specific area. For readers of the Ryedale Historian, as for a wider public, this Paper is a valuable exposition of a difficult period of land tenure and a most useful source of ideas and references.

G. E. Morris

Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire 1066-1300

by J. McDonnell

University of York

Borthwick Papers No. 60

This is a worthy addition to the other 59 Borthwick Papers and one which answers a number of questions which might well be lurking in the mind of the historian and, maybe, of the interested tourist and visitor to ancient sites.

What kind of food did people eat and how did they obtain it in sufficient quantities: remembering that meat was forbidden for all during Lent, even those who could afford it, and particularly for those hundreds of monks who were never supposed to eat it at all? You will find some answers here. People had caught fish, one supposes, from time immemorial in local waters if they were lucky enough to have such but probably as haphazardly as many of us would do today. But in the period under review, fishing became a highly skilled industry including catching, storing, selling and also breeding for the table.

If there was no water nearby, you acquired fishing rights in other places, often far afield. My former neighbours, (the Cistercians of Fountains Abbey) obtained fisheries as far away as the East Riding and the mouth of the Tees: they also had their home waters (often as "stews" for readily available live fish) and developed such ponds as can be seen there today.

For anyone familiar with Ryedale the author happily uses Byland Abbey ponds as a case-history. I wonder how many people living near or visiting the Abbey are aware how much the land has been permanently altered by the ingenious hydraulic skill of these men? They began with a marsh and ended with mill-races, farmland drainage, and a whole series of fishponds one of which involved a dam a quarter of a mile long, 30 feet high at the centre and a calculated 60,000 cubic feet of clay and stone dug out; this producing a pond of 45 acres; and all without benefit of more than a

few brooks and many tapped springs. You can find more than traces of their work around Byland if you take this booklet along with you.

The Cistercians had special advantages. They were an Order which met together regularly from all corners of Europe and, while doubtless giving mutual spiritual support, also must have found time to exchange technical and commercial knowledge as well. The result was that in this area of human achievement as well as in so many others, the Order became the contemporary equivalent of what we now call the multi-national corporation; there followed, inevitably, a "remorseless take-over" of traditional fishing rights with less efficient methods.

Later on, the great landowner inheritors of monastic properties sometimes retained these fisheries, sometimes imitated them but never, until very recently, improved on the monks' ingenuity and capacity for making the best of what had been given them by pious (though sometimes parsimonious) benefactors.

As ever with any piece of historical research, this leaves one pleasingly satisfied but still hungry for more. Fish were used to pay rents for rights or property; but how did one count (or check) an annual rental of 33,266 eels? How were live fish carried long distances to stock the ponds and stews? And how (following Borthwick Paper No. 56) did the nuns in the little convents survive at all - for either spiritual or bodily sustenance?

This interesting booklet, the evident result of erudition, sound field-work and enthusiasm, will surely spur other investigators to add another piece to the fascinating jigsaw puzzle of our past. As ever, when telling the tale of western man's cleverness, one finds that the Chinese were doing it (in this case breeding fish) a couple of thousand years earlier.

Alban Rimmer OSB

WEST NEWTON GRANGE: FINAL REPORT ON SURVEY OF EARTHWORKS by John McDonnell

The township of West Newton Grange forms a wedge of land between Sproxton, to the north, and Oswaldkirk to the south. The point of the wedge (also the highest part of the township at about 670 ft. O.D.) lies to the west, on the 'High Street' coming from Tom Smith's Cross, while its base, with the northern tip almost touching the River Rye at 150 ft. O.D., abuts the township of East Newton. Wherever and whatever the new 'tun' that presumably gave the two townships their common name, their descent has been quite separate since Domesday.

Administratively, West Newton has had a varied history. Ecclesiastically it seems always to have been part of Oswaldkirk parish. Manorially, it fell within the fee of the Lords of Sproxton, who in the early thirteenth century leased four carucates here (about half the total acreage) to Rievaulx Abbey¹. There was an odd aftermath to this, in that until the eighteenth century West Newton continued sending jurymen to the manor court of Rievaulx rather than to Sproxton, Helmsley or Oswaldkirk.

The Cistercians' first interest in the township seems to have been as extra high pasture for their sheep-stray based on Sproxton Cote (probably on the site of the modern 'Court' farm, SE 596817). But before the middle of the thirteenth century they already had at least one grange-centre built in the township, and further grants from some freemen² holding land there; in particular a northern slice of the wedge, including pasture and arable in the field of 'Escowra' or 'Oustscow'³.

Between 1240 and 1302 there was a series of lawsuits and quarrels between the monks and the lords of Sproxton (who had conferred on them both Sproxton Cote and half West Newton), especially over rights disputed (1240-51) by Richard de Sproxton's daughter Albreda, married to William le Oyseleur and apparently resident in West Newton⁴. Violence broke out in 1300⁵, when a large party of Cistercian conversi and lay farm-servants assaulted William de Sproxton and did £20-worth of damage to his crops. An accommodation appears to have been reached in 1302⁶, and thereafter the grange achieves few mentions in documents until towards the end of the monastic period⁷. By the sixteenth century the whole township was divided into three yeoman farms of between 245 and some 400 acres each⁸.

The only other matter of relevance to monastic activity is the diversion of 'Neutonebeke'⁹. Fairly early in the thirteenth century Robert de Sproxton licensed the monks to lead water from a spring within his curtis - at or near the modern Sproxton Hall - to their grange of Newton. This must be the White Beck of today, rising on Sproxton ridge, and in the latter part of its course before flowing into the Rye, following an artificial channel which carries it past the more easterly of the two West Newton Grange farms (SE 630800).

Of the four modern farms within the township, Bank Top Farm (SE 625793) dates only from the 18th century. The most westerly, Golden Square (a name of debatable derivation) at SE 614802, may occupy the site of the freehold toft and croft contested by William le Oyseleur and Albreda. The remaining pair of farms, which have both been known, confusingly, as 'Grange', are West Newton Grange (SE 630800) and Grange Farm (SE 620799), the latter being the site of the earthworks here surveyed. Each evidently has been the scene of monastic farming activities: West Newton Grange with its artificial water supply from the diversion of White Beck; Grange Farm with its complex of banks and building remains, and the pottery finds made among them.

Elucidation of the pattern of earthworks at Grange Farm (now almost all obliterated by field levelling and drainage operations between 1975 and 1980) is complicated by the erection (c.1640) of a manor-house by Sir Henry Cholmley, and its demolition 60 years later. This was a sizeable building, assessed at 16 hearths in the 1675 Hearth Tax return. Almost certainly it was sited on the same spot as the present farm-house, but extending into the paddock to the west. In this connection it should be noted that the present B1257 road-line dates back only to the Turnpike era. The line of the earlier Helmsley to Malton road can be traced further to the north, passing through the yards of both Golden Square and Grange Farm¹⁰. The Cholmley manor-house, then, would have flanked the carriage-road of the day. The chapel (site shown on plan, now removed and rebuilt at Sproxton) was also a Cholmley construction.

The Grange Farm Earthworks

The whole site slopes gently down from south to north, and there is a geological change, from limestone to clay, halfway down, just below Grange farm-house. There is evidence, given in the Interim Report of 1976¹¹, of a water catchment system tapping the resulting spring-line and intended to provide a reliable supply. Late medieval green-glaze ware along the line of buildings immediately uphill of this catchment may suggest a very small lay-settlement here; but the 'village street' noted by one or two nineteenth century writers was in fact a large watering-trough linked to the catchment system.

The nature of the baulks in the southern field, uphill of the farm-house, is similar to that noted in 1976 for the banks on the low ground in the north of the site. They stood between one and three feet high, and were formed of conspicuously sandy soil (possibly the effect of leaching), with little or no stone in their composition. (Comparable gravelly boundary-baulks occur on Fountains granges, e.g. in the Malham area.) No trace of post-holes was noted. The internal field-divisions probably had wattle fencing, and the boundary dyke on the south at the time of levelling still carried a ragged line of grown-out hawthorns, no doubt descendants of an original quickset hedge. This boundary-dyke was the only baulk with a discernible ditch on the outer side. It was slightly more substantial than the internal baulks, but was still very largely composed of

yellow sand; the only sizeable quantity of stone in any of the baulks occurred at the eastern end of the southern boundary-dyke, adjacent to the modern farm-track (not on plan), suggesting a stone-reinforced gateway between the curtis and Stocking Lane, leading to the pastures in the higher, western part of the township.

There was also some arable land in the vicinity of Grange Farm. Some rigg-and-furrow is shown on the plan; an estate map of 1820¹² preserves 'Eighteen Lands' as a field-name along the east side of the present farm track, immediately south of Grange Farm.

Conclusion

Compared with the grange remains at Griff and Newlass¹³, there are fewer platforms of domestic or farm buildings evident at Grange Farm. The dominant features are the remains of field-boundaries, of a size and pattern suggesting sheep-folding as their function, when the flocks were brought down from the higher pastures in winter. The modest 'home-made' water-supply system indicated by the holding-pond at the south-west corner, with the channel leading downhill from it to the watering-trough below the farm, would also be compatible with a bercary. The more ambitious diversion of White Beck to West Newton Grange (SE 630800) may indicate cattle being wintered there; the monks brought their plough-teams from Griff to West Newton¹⁴, and the same 1820 estate plan referred to above records two 'Oxcloses', a 'Cow Pasture' and a 'Horse Pasture' along the banks of White Beck in the neighbourhood of West Newton Grange farm.

Footnotes

Abbreviations: HH - History of Helmsley, Rievaulx & District, ed. McDonnell, York, 1962.

RH - Ryedale Historian (periodical)

RC - Cartularium Abb. de Rievallie, ed. Atkinson, Surtees Soc. vol.83, 1889.

- 1 RC, 292: Kirkby's Inquest (Surtees vol.49, 1867), 114: Rutland MSS (Hist. MSS Comm)., vol.iv, 77.
- 2 RC, 393.
- 3 RC, 235, 390-91.
- 4 RC, 392, 395.
- 5 Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series, vol.xvii, p.179.
- 6 ibid., p.179.
- 7 RC, Intr. p.cii.
- 8 HH, 255-6, 271 note 6.
- 9 RC, 292-3; cf. HH, 255.
- 10 HH, 294.
- 11 RH, no. 8 (1976).
- 12 North Yorkshire County Record Office, Duncombe Archive (ZEW), Tukes & Ayer Survey.
- 13 HH, 438-40.
- 14 RC, 293.

